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NEW PRESIDENT PLANS TO EXPAND FPA

Mr. William W. Lancaster, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, has announced the appointment of Brooks Emeny as President of the Association. Mr. Emeny is known to members of the Association not only through his Headline Series pamphlet "Main-springs of World Politics", but also as the able President of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs, and the chairman of Cleveland's widely publicized "Report from the World". Mr. Emeny succeeds Major General Frank Ross McCoy, U.S. Army, retired, now president emeritus of the Association.



WM. W. LANCASTER

In his acceptance, Mr. Emeny stated: "The presidency of the Foreign Policy Association offers one of the most challenging opportunities today for furthering the public understanding of the problems of contemporary world relations as they affect America and for the development of a leadership of informed opinion upon which alone a constructive foreign policy can be based. The Association, with its nationwide membership and network of branches and affiliates, is uniquely situated to serve as the national agency for the furtherance of such a program. This can only be achieved through a widespread cooperative effort not only among the members of the Association but through the aid and partnership of other national organizations devoted to research and education in specialized fields of world affairs."

A member of the class of 1924 at Princeton University, Mr. Emeny received his graduate degree from

Yale following three years of study in international relations at the Sorbonne, the London School of Economics, Konsular Akademie (Vienna) and the University of Madrid. He is the author of "The Strategy of Raw Materials" and co-author with the late Frank Simonds of "The Great Powers in World Politics" and "The Price of Peace."



BROOKS EMENY

In 1935 Mr. Emeny went to Cleveland, where the remarkable growth of interest in international affairs is directly attributable to his leadership. Communities all over the country pattern their educational program and community technique on the Cleveland method. The 21st annual institute of the Cleveland Council last January enjoyed the co-sponsorship of *Time Magazine*. This "Report from the World" brought to Cleveland such outstanding leaders as former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg; Premier Alcide de Gasperi of Italy; Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, Netherlands delegate to the UN Security Council; and Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian delegate to the UN Security Council.

"Mr. Emeny's appointment as President of the Foreign Policy Association," Mr. Lancaster stated, "has been made with the object of further strengthening the educational program of the Foreign Policy Association. It is the desire of the Board of Directors that the distribution of the Association's publications throughout the country be expanded and that the branches should increase as vital and focal points of interest in international affairs."

Contents of this BULLETIN may be reprinted with credit to the Foreign Policy Association.

WOULD UN CONTROL ANSWER PROBLEM OF DARDANELLES?

Warren R. Austin, United States delegate, assured the United Nations Security Council on March 28 that the proposal for American aid to Greece and Turkey is only a stopgap measure designed to assist these two countries until various international agencies are able to extend long-range assistance. His statement indicates belated recognition by the Administration of widespread fear in this country that the President had deliberately by-passed the United Nations. If Mr. Austin succeeds in allaying this fear, he will help to overcome one of the strongest objections to the President's plan as a whole. However, until Administration spokesmen have presented a stronger case than they have hitherto made in favor of assigning \$100,000,000 for support of the Turkish army, they may find it difficult to win widespread public and Congressional backing for this particular phase of Mr. Truman's program.

One reason for the Administration's comparative silence as far as Turkey is concerned is that the Turkish crisis is compounded of less dramatic elements than the crisis in Greece. From the point of view of the potential struggle for power between Russia and the United States in the Middle East, however, Turkey is even more significant than Greece. For the western territories of Turkey lie athwart the Straits, through which Russia must pass to reach the Mediterranean, and its eastern provinces form part of the approach from the U.S.S.R. to the Persian Gulf.

TURKEY FEARS RUSSIAN CONTROL. The existing arrangements concerning the Straits, as established by the Montreux convention of 1936, are essentially satisfactory to Turkey. Under this convention the Turkish government has full responsibility for the defense and control of the Straits, subject to the provision that all merchant vessels shall have freedom of passage in peace or war, while warships of both Black Sea and non-littoral powers shall be permitted passage only in special cases. The Turks have raised no objections to suggestions by both the United States and Russia that the Montreux terms be revised to permit free passage for warships of Black Sea powers while denying such passage to naval units of other nations except in limited cases. They have, however, opposed the Russian proposal that the Straits should be jointly defended by the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. This Russian plan, in the opinion of the Ankara government, would not only lead to virtual Soviet control of the Straits but would seriously restrict Turkish sovereignty. Fearing that Russia might exert military pressure to obtain approval of this proposal, the Turks have continued to maintain a large standing army. The Turkish army, as pointed out in the memorandum prepared by the State Department for members of Congress, will cost Turkey

approximately \$152,000,000 during 1947, or 44 per cent of the national budget.

RUSSIA AFFIRMS HISTORIC POLICY. From the point of view of Russia, which has regarded the Straits as its natural entrance to the Mediterranean for two centuries, the attainment of full political control over this important waterway has historically constituted a primary objective. Although the Tsarist government never succeeded in achieving this objective, success seemed within its grasp during World War I. In a desperate effort to keep Russia in the war, the Western Allies secretly agreed in 1915 that Russia should receive the Straits and Constantinople following defeat of the Central Powers. Although this agreement was not carried out because the Bolshevik revolution occurred before Germany had been defeated, it embodied a Russian aspiration which the Soviet government revived when the time appeared opportune. Thus during the period following conclusion of the Russo-German pact of 1939 Russia attempted not only to secure the closing of the Straits to non-Black Sea powers, but also to obtain naval and air bases in Turkey for the purpose of controlling the waterway. Although shortly after the Nazi invasion in 1941 Russia retreated from this historic policy and affirmed its fidelity to the Montreux arrangements for Turkish control of the Straits, Soviet leaders reverted to Russia's traditional objective as the war drew to a close. During the spring of 1945 Russia formally denounced its pact of friendship and neutrality with Turkey, and in August and September 1946 pressed for the establishment of joint Russo-Turkish defense of the Straits.

U.S. URGES INTERNATIONAL SOLUTION. It was under these conditions of acute tension between Russia and Turkey that the United States claimed an important role in the settlement of the long-standing controversy concerning the Straits. At the Potsdam Conference of July 1945 President Truman contended that, since the policies governing international waterways have a direct bearing on world peace and security, the United States has a keen interest in the determination of these policies and should participate in revision of the Montreux convention. Although the Big Three thereupon agreed, in a document on "The Black Sea Straits" made public by Washington on March 19, that each of them should discuss revision with the Turkish government, it is now clear that Russia did not intend to give the United States the important voice in the settlement of its dispute with Turkey which Washington has claimed since Potsdam. According to the Russian text of the agreement, "negotiations," rather than "conversations"—as the American and British versions of the Potsdam document state—were to be held between Turkey and each of the Big Three,

and these negotiations were to constitute "the proper course"—rather than "the next step"—toward settlement of the question. The marked differences in translation of key phrases in the Potsdam agreement on the Straits might not have proved insuperable. But underlying these phrases is the fundamental conflict between Russia's belief that its security depends on the establishment of national control over the Straits and the American view that Russian domination of the Dardanelles would endanger American interests in the oil-rich Middle East and upset the present balance of power throughout this strategic area.

When it became clear that Russia was pressing for joint military control of the Straits with Turkey as

UN LAUNCHES TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL DESPITE DIFFICULTIES

Secretary-General Trygve Lie, in opening the first session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council on March 26, recalled the false prophecies of the skeptics and cynics who had predicted that the Council would never meet. The absence of a Soviet delegate marred the inaugural meeting of this last major UN organ to go into operation, but Mr. Lie and United States representative Francis B. Sayre later pointed out to newsmen that according to the Charter the Council's decisions are made by a majority of members present and voting. The work of the Council will therefore proceed despite the non-attendance of the U.S.S.R., which has never answered the Secretary General's January 14 request for the names of Trusteeship Council representatives. Mr. Sayre, expressing his regret at Russia's failure to send a delegate, declared: "I hope with all my heart that a representative of that great country will be here shortly."

SOVIET BOYCOTT. Russia's attitude is not surprising in view of its contention last December that the eight trusteeship agreements approved by the General Assembly were illegal, and therefore improper as a basis for creation of the Council. Many observers, however, are associating this attitude with the fact that the Soviet Union belongs to only one (World Health Organization) of the nine existing or projected specialized agencies of the United Nations.

Largely ignoring Russia's boycott, the nine remaining members of the Trusteeship Council proceeded methodically to take up the task of supervising the administration of six African and two Pacific trust territories which are inhabited by 14,555,000 people and ruled by five members of the Council—Britain (Tanganyika, British Cameroons, British Togoland), France (French Cameroons and French Togoland), Belgium (Ruanda-Urundi), Australia (New Guinea), and New Zealand (Western Samoa). The only noticeable effect of the Soviet absence occurred during the election of officers in which Mr. Sayre, former United States High Commissioner

its junior partner, the United States on October 9, 1946 reaffirmed its interpretation of the Potsdam agreement, and repeated an earlier suggestion that the Montreux convention should be revised by means of an international conference. Mr. Truman now proposes unilateral American financial and military support of Turkey to offset the unilateral pressure exerted on that country by the U.S.S.R. However, in view of the assurances Mr. Austin has given the Security Council that the United States will welcome long-range United Nations assistance to Turkey, the possibility still exists that the centuries-old dispute over control of the Straits might be settled by the establishment of a United Nations regime.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL

to the Philippines, was chosen president, and Sir Carl Berendsen of New Zealand, vice-president. Members of the Council are said to have previously agreed on the election of Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico as president, but just before the balloting a short adjournment was requested by Roger Garreau of France. The subsequent vote was secret, but it is reported that during the twenty minute recess the five administering powers agreed to cast their ballots for Mr. Sayre.

The remaining items on the agenda of the Trusteeship Council are (1) adoption of rules of procedure, (2) formulation of questionnaires on the advancement of trust territories, (3) consideration of petitions, (4) study of reports submitted by administering authorities, (5) discussion of relations between the Trusteeship Council and other UN agencies, (6) consideration of items proposed by any UN members, and (7) schedule of future sessions and work, including arrangements for visits to trust territories. The adoption of the rules of procedure alone is expected to take as much as two weeks. Sixty-two provisional rules for the Council were adopted by the UN Preparatory Commission in the fall of 1945, but the French delegate warned that alterations were necessary, and Col. W. R. Hodgson of Australia declared that his government had about fifty suggestions to make.

SAMOAN PETITION. One of the most interesting of many petitions submitted for the Council's consideration, made public on March 9, was a request for self government by forty-six native chieftains of Western Samoa, a New Zealand trust territory. The Samoan chiefs also protested against the "unnatural division" between Western Samoa and American Samoa (which is administered by the Navy Department). J. A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, announced on March 15 that he would ask Congress to replace military rule by civilian government in Samoa, but the United States is unlikely to accept the proposal to unite the Samoan islands. Moreover,

as a result of its control over American Samoa, the United States will be one of six members of a new South Pacific Commission modeled on the Caribbean Commission. An agreement creating this new organization to promote the economic and social development of South Sea islands was signed at Canberra, Australia on February 6, but is as yet unratified.

Temporarily, the absence of the Soviet Union from the Trusteeship Council gives the administering powers a five to four majority over the non-administering states (United States, China, Mexico and Iraq). In the future this situation will probably be altered whether or not Russia continues to boycott the Council. For if the American draft agreement to place the Japanese mandated islands under trusteeship is approved by the Security Council and the Senate, the United States will become an administering

power. According to the Charter, the General Assembly will then have to elect two more non-administering members to the Council, making a total of six administering and six non-administering states. This action will place the five former League of Nations mandatory powers in the minority since the United States, despite its new role as an administering authority, will probably assume an attitude midway between that of colonial and non-colonial powers. One obstacle to American assumption of the role of an administering authority was removed on March 28 in the Security Council when Australia withdrew a proposal which would have postponed the application of the Pacific islands agreement until the signing of a Japanese peace treaty.

VERNON MCKAY

F.P.A. BOOKSHELF

The Web of Government, by R. M. MacIver. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$4.00

In writing about the fundamental nature of the state, Professor MacIver of Columbia University brings to bear on the eternal political problem of liberty and order a wealth of information from four related fields of political science, sociology, anthropology and psychology.

The Individual, the State and World Government, by A. C. Ewing. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$4.00

This treatise deals with the problems of democracy vs. totalitarianism, the rights of individuals, and the prospects for international organization. Professor Ewing, lecturer in Moral Science at Cambridge University, England, believes that the UN has been erected on sound ground, even though the sovereignty of individual states has been preserved in that organization. The alternative, he contends, was not greater federation but division of the world into two opposing camps.

Defeat in Victory, by Jan Ciechanowski. Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., 1947. \$3.50

A strong indictment by the wartime Polish Ambassador to Washington (1941-45) of what he regards as Anglo-American betrayal of Poland for the sake of achieving wartime cooperation with Russia.

For FPA Publications on Current Issues in Washington, read—

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

by Harold H. Hutchison

IMMIGRATION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

by Earl G. Harrison

THE FIVE AXIS SATELLITE PEACE TREATIES

by Winifred N. Hadsel

25 cents each

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A National Labor Policy, by H. W. Metz and M. Jacobstein. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution, 1947.

This study is based on the 1945 Brookings Institution publication, *The Labor Policy of the Federal Government*, by H. W. Metz which presented a factual record of labor legislation and court decisions affecting industrial relations. In the present book the authors have analyzed current labor policies and conclude that collective bargaining can be made an effective means of adjusting industrial differences, while at the same time safeguarding the public interest. They argue against the alternative policy of compulsory adjustment of labor disputes.

American Diplomacy in Action, by R. W. Van Alstyne. California, Stanford University Press, 1947. \$5.00

In this revised edition of his text the author has followed the topical approach to American foreign policy; and has added information on wartime developments and the United Nations. The scope of the volume is indicated by its three main parts: I. Security and the Monroe Doctrine; II. Expansion and the Concept of Manifest Destiny; and III. Neutrality and Isolation.

Caribbean: Sea of the New World, by Germán Arciniegas. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1946. \$3.75

The Colombian historian takes this locked sea as protagonist of a rich history that bridges the years from Columbus' discovery, when "life acquired a new dimension," to the building of the Canal.

Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War, by George Morgenstern. New York, Devin-Adair, 1947. \$3.00

A *Chicago Tribune* editorial writer seeks to prove the thesis that the United States was engaged in an "undeclared" war months before Pearl Harbor.

Soviet Philosophy: A Study of Theory and Practice, by John Somerville. New York, Philosophical Library, 1946. \$3.75

A useful summary of Soviet thought on culture and science as well as politics and economics, by a lecturer in philosophy who spent considerable time in the Soviet Union before World War II, and had an opportunity to study Russian sources.

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